2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7

[Post-Chaco Period] Terena

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chickens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing and hunting supply only a negligible amount of food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic history of the Terena in the last hundred years. The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of the railroad and the influx of settlers there has been a gradual increase in the dependence on the money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact picture of Terena economy and the relative importance of subsistence farming and dependence on commercial transactions can be obtained if we examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

The Indian Post of Taunay[2] today has a population of 995. As this Post contains approximately one-third of the Terena population it will serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena economic life. Statistics show that families at this Post average 5 persons, which would give the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, have houses and lots either inside or outside the village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots outside the village. Sources-of-income study made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the following facts:

(1) About 100 men were away from the village working on ranches, on the railroad as section hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out of the Post at all times engaged in wage work. Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time of the year. Men who work for the railroad usually remain away for a year, often longer. If the man is married he often takes his family with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[2] The village is called "Bananal" by the Terena.

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road company. If these workers are near, they 434
visit the Post on week ends and holidays. Usually 464
all these workers come back to the village when
they become ill or too old to work. One com-
plaint the Protestant missionaries make is that a [197]
man will leave the village for 6 months, become
ill, and then return to the village to be treated.
The missionaries claim that the Indians do not
take care of themselves when away from the Post,
that they spend their money on cane rum instead
of buying warm clothing and sufficient food. The
general pattern consists in a young man spending
several years away from the village, then return-
ing, marrying, and settling in the village. After
settling down he goes out to seek employment only
occasionally. Since 1942, wages have risen stead- 465
ily in Brazil owing to inflation, so it is difficult
to determine a standard wage at present. Before
the war, wages paid for farm and ranch hands
ranged from 5 to 10 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.25
to $0.50). Today, wages range from 15 to 30
cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.75 to $1.50), but this
money buys no more than before the war. From
what has been said it can be seen that wages form [434]
an important source of Terena income.

(2) The manager of the Post always employs 434
a number of Terena to work in the fields belonging 464
to the Post, to take care of the Post livestock, and
to build and repair the buildings belonging to the
Post proper. The number of these workers varies;
in January 1947 six men were thus employed. [465]
They received 14 cruzeiros a day. The employ-
ment of Indians by the Post has other purposes
besides the maintenance of the Post. An effort is
made to provide work for needy families even
when the Post does not actually require their serv- 177
ices. Another reason for employing Indians is 434
to train them in building and in such crafts as 464
carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. The wel-
fare function of this kind of wage work is revealed
by the fact that when a man with a large family
is a drunkard the Post manager does not pay him [452]
in money but arranges credit for him at a store
in Taunay or provides him with foodstuffs from 434
supplies belonging to the Post. 463

(3) Three men were found to be making their 489
living by carting, that is, transporting goods be- 494

tween the Post and Taunay or between the Post and the neighboring ranches. One man had a horse and wagon while the other two had two-wheeled oxcarts. Farm produce, building materials, and general merchandise make up the loads. In traveling short distances the Terena usually ride horses or walk; for long-distance travel they use the railroad.

(4) Three men were found to be employed as carpenters in the village. These men were making simple articles of furniture, such as tables and benches, and making or repairing yokes for oxen and parts for sugarcane presses.

(5) Two men, although living at the Post, were employed as masons in Taunay. Sometimes these men worked for the Post and sometimes on special jobs in the neighboring towns. They claimed they received 40 cruzeiros per day.

(6) Two men were making their living as commercial farmers, producing and selling manioc meal, raw sugar, milk, and meat. Some of this produce was sold in the village either to the stores or directly to the Indians. In addition, some produce, particularly manioc meal, was sold to ranches nearby.

(7) One man was found employed in making and repairing shoes and sandals and repairing saddles and harness. Most of his work was supplied by the demands of the village, but missionaries, also, at times used his services.

(8) One old man was found making a living by weaving baskets, fans, and hats from palm fiber. For his fans, which are widely used by Indians and Brazilians alike for maintaining charcoal kitchen fires, he receives 5 cruzeiros apiece from the storekeepers in Taunay.

(9) The remainder of the Terena at the Post were making their living by subsistence agriculture at this time.

Only very general conclusions could be made concerning the money income of the Terena living at Bananal. If approximately 100 men are receiving money income in the form of wages from sources outside the village the year round, this sum would constitute the major portion of the cash available for cash expenditures. Allowing 15 cruzeiros per day (the going wage on ranches) and a 5-day week, this would give the village a total of 390,000 cruzeiros per annum. To this would have to be added the money income of six

men working for the Post at 14 cruzeiros per day, or a total of 21,840 cruzeiros. The income from these two sources gives a total of 411,840. This in turn would give each of the 200 families a cash income of approximately 2,059 cruzeiros per year. This is the nearest approach to family money incomes that could be made. This figure is somewhat below the estimate of between 2,000 and 3,000 cruzeiros made by the manager of the Post as it does not include the sales of manioc meal and other services performed by the Terena, but as the latter figure could not be calculated it was not considered. It is true, of course, that many families would be below and many above 2,059 cruzeiros a year. Yet from general observation there are no marked differences in the standard of living of the Terena living at the Post. The cash figure of 2,059 cruzeiros, which is equal to a little over $100 (U. S.), has little meaning unless it can be expressed in terms of goods which this money can buy.

It must be remembered that the Terena produce the staple food products themselves while living at the Post and also while working on the fazendas. These staples consist of manioc, sweetpotatoes, beans, maize, and other vegetables. Money is spent primarily for clothing and such foods and household items that cannot be produced in the village or on the fazenda. A budget for a family of five was worked out which gives the following items of expenditure:

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children

	Cr.$
Man's clothing for year:	
1 suit—5 m. of cloth at Cr. $15 plus Cr. $15 for tailoring	90,00
3 shirts—3 m. per shirt at Cr. $9 plus buttons	55,00
1 pair of pants	45,00
1 pair of shoes	120,00
Extras (straw hats, socks, handkerchiefs, razor blades)	50,00
Total	360,00
Woman's clothing for year:	
3 dresses at Cr. $76	228,00
Underclothing—8 m. at Cr. $9,00	72,00
1 pair of sandals	15,00
Extras (combs, face powder, etc.)	50,00
Total	365,00

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also true that the status-giving capacity of the manager and the missionaries leads to tension and discord. The role of Catholic missionaries, also Americans, is much less important. They visit the settlements only occasionally and are concerned almost solely with questions of religious belief, births, marriages, and deaths.

The economic contacts of the Terena outside the villages are restricted to the fazendas, the railroad, and the towns. It is on the fazendas and the railroad that the Terena make most of their cash incomes, and where they learn to use tools and other mechanical techniques. In the towns the Terena learn such arts as carpentry, tailoring, and masonry of a more advanced order than in the villages. In the towns, too, they come into contact with a variety of individuals, the movies, bars, and houses of prostitution. It is here where the men learn to dress better and where the girls learn the custom of using lipstick, face powder, and having their hair waved. A more organized form of contact with the towns is by means of football games played by Terena teams against the town teams.

Although every young Terena has the right to go out to work, and some of them spend a number of years away from the villages, none, so far, according to the manager of Bananal, has achieved success or independence in the Brazilian community. Sooner or later they return. In Campo Grande, the largest town in southern Mato Grosso, a young Terena was working as a waiter in a hotel. When the manager of the hotel was asked what he thought of the services of the Terena waiter, he said, "He is the laziest waiter I have." So far the Terena have not shown a capacity to advance further than supplying the common labor market on the fazendas, the railroad, and in the towns. When they grow tired of working they return to their native villages.

SUMMARY

Enough has been said to enable us to outline briefly the main features of the development of Terena social organization in post-Columbian times.

1. In association with, and perhaps in reaction to the Mbayá, the Terena developed a military and class organization based on the use of the horse for raiding. The resulting mobility led to

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./ Finally, both in
361 Capão and in Argola, the land plots are situated close to the
241 ranchos, which gives these nuclei an appearance similar to that of small farming fazendas, their chief crops being manioc--with which they make flour--, maize, rice, moranga /Cucurbita maxima/, abóbora /gourds/, bananas, etc.

[621] Other areas of population concentration, such as Saipuri, Buritizal, Vazante, and another score of ranchos scattered through the reservation are given the generic name of roças /farm plots/. This is due to the fact that the planted plots are adjacent to these ranchos, in contrast to the central nucleus,
[231] which does not have this. The presence of cattle in this central
[417] nucleus, along with pigs and chickens, loose in the aldea streets, prevents the families from having their planted plots close to the ranchos and compels them to have them in areas somewhat removed and duly protected with barbed wire fences.

162 The community is made up almost exclusively of Terêna
621 Indians. Taking the data of the census we carried out in 1957, as an illustration, we see that out of 907 inhabitants, 729 were Terêna, 16 were /77/ Kinikináu, and nine were Layâna, while the rest were mestizos, the fruits of interethnic and intertribal unions.

439 Trade between the native aldea and the neo-Brazilian population nuclei, such as Duque Estrada and Miranda, is rather active, owing to the lack of economic autonomy of
434 Cachoeirinha (like the other Terêna communities). With the
439 exception of a few families--such as those referred to above as
[556] "the rich," --whose members are not employed on the regional labor market, the rest subsist on the labor of the male element (father, husband, and brothers) whose salaries are channeled to the business houses of Duque Estrada, Agaxi, (140) and

[361]

140. Agaxi is a small settlement, even smaller than Duque Estrada, situated southeast of the reservation, next to the river of the same

/77 cont./ [Cachoeirinha]

361 name and with which a few
439 Capão families--whose ranchos border on the settlement--maintain trade relations.

434 especially Miranda, where they buy fat ("grease"), macaroni,
439 some meat, salt, etc., as well as clothes, occasional household equipment, and brandy, which is forbidden on the reser-
433 vations but is nevertheless found there. Unfortunately, we
128 have no data that would permit us to make an exact appraisal of the amount of the production of the aldea and its distribution through nuclear families. True, we could give estimates, but they would be of no comparative value since we could not carry
433 out the same procedure in relation to the other aldeas. It is sufficient for us to know that the production of most of the families (i.e., the production resulting from labor undertaken
[439] on their own lands) falls far short of their consumption. And we can illustrate this with the fact that a considerable number of families buy outside the aldea supplies such as manioc flour, which, in fact, is the principal product of the community.

Passarinho, Moreira, and União

62/ Passarinho and Moreira aldeas occupy two contiguous
[36] areas, situated in places near Miranda and have a total popu-
[162] lation of 239 persons. Like Cachoeirinha, these aldeas for-
[166] some time have had an influx of families from other aldeas and fazendas, while they themselves have supplied Cachoeirinha
[162] with some individuals. In 1927, the population of Passarinho was estimated at 110 persons and that of /78/ Moreira at 98.
[361] At that time, Passarinho--the closer one--was two kilometers from Miranda; now, it can be said that both are no more than suburbs of the city, so bound to it are the lives of their members

/102 cont./

433 can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.
648 As for the extraction of angico on reservation lands, or of timber itself, for commercial purposes, this varies according to the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, which now permits it, now forbids it, pleading, in the second case, the
[434] protection of the native patrimony. The fact is that this extractive activity is not a regular source of income for the post or for the Indians.

184 In regard to the economy of the native community proper,
621 the differences relating to the systems of production are not
433 so great as to lead to the establishing of different types of communities. It can even be said that the cattle of Buriti, for example, or the rice fields of Cachoeirinha, influenced the character of native production in the respective communities very little or hardly at all. Few are the families /103/ that benefit from the post production, whether through receiving seeds in considerable quantities, or through having access to a good breed of cattle to improve their herds. The great majority of the population are left aside from the post's economic
[241] program. And what characterizes the families is that they
[464] work on plots of their own (sweet and bitter manioc, beans
[511] /feijão miudo/, and sometimes rice) which are not even sufficient for the family subsistence, achieved only with the
184 men's employment on the regional labor market. As we could
511 see in Chapter V from the study of individual communities,
434 the great majority of Terêna families, regardless of the aldeas
464 to which they belong, satisfy their most basic needs by
[463] combining the produce of their fields with money earned out-
[314] side the reservation, whether tending the cattle or pack oxen of the fazendeiros of the region, or in agricultural work, for which the demand is constantly increasing--as coffee cultivation is taken up by the neighboring middling and small farmers--, or in the extractive industry, where the Terêna are experts in the difficult art of extracting angico bark without damaging it.